

Farm Labor

"EQUAL RIGHTS FOR

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS"

Published by Citizens for Farm Labor, P.O. Box 1173, Berkeley, California

25¢ per copy; \$3.00 for twelve issues
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See Page 10

SPECIAL REPRINT; FIRST ANNIVERSARY.....SEE PAGE 10: "A YEAR LATER"

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Co-editors: Henry Anderson and Howard Richards
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Cover Photograph: Cotton Workers, Fresno County
Courtesy, Ernest Lowe, Berkeley.

ENTIRE CONTENTS, LABOR DONATED

no sufras

te digo en las orejas
no sufras
ya llega el día
ven,
ven conmigo,
ven
con todos
los que a ti se parecen,
los mas sencillos,
ven,
no sufras,
ven conmigo,
porque aunque no lo sepas,
eso yo si lo se
yo se hacia donde vamos,
y es esta la palabra:
no sufras
porque hanaremos,
ganaremos nosotros
los mas sencillos,
ganaremos,
aunque tu no lo creas,
ganaremos.

suffer not

I whisper to you,
suffer not,
the day is coming,
Come
come with me,
come
with all
those like you,
the simplest of men.
Come,
Suffer not,
come with me,
for though you do not know it,
I do know.
I know where we are going,
and this is its word:
Suffer not,
for we will win,
we, the simplest of men,
will win.
We will win.
Though you do not believe it,
we will win.

Pablo Neruda
Odas Elementales

translated by Kenneth Willing

The following is a draft policy statement. Your comments are solicited.

CITIZENS FOR FARM LABOR: A PROSPECTUS

I. Preamble

In the recent words of the Welfare Study Commission of the State of California, "One occupational group in California is so deeply locked in poverty that it is set off from all others: Farm laborers and their families". Periodically, California rediscovers that it has an agricultural labor "problem", of which poverty is the most conspicuous aspect. Agricultural workers' poverty is reflected in substandard housing, food, and medical care, inadequate education, child labor, and other indices.

But poverty is a symptom. The more basic disability of agricultural workers--the reason why they are impoverished by comparison with other occupational groups--is that they are not free. The salvation of America's economic system is that it has been accompanied by a political system under which working men have been generally free to complain about grievances, free to associate with those with similar grievances, free to publish their views, free to form political instruments, free to withhold their labor, free in other vital ways.

These saving freedoms, one might think, apply to all working men and women in this country, under a Constitution which calls for equal protection of the law. But social, labor, civil rights, and immigration laws do not apply equally to all workers. Agricultural workers are uniquely singled out for exclusion from wage and hour laws, unemployment insurance laws, child labor laws, collective bargaining laws, and even California's Fair Employment Practices Act. And, since the first codified Immigration Act in 1885, agriculture has the only industry in which captive foreign labor has been tolerated. Whether Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, "wetbacks", braceros, or "green carders", the effect has been the same--to reduce domestic agricultural workers, and small farmers and their unpaid family helpers, to the level of servitude which foreign contract workers have been desperate enough to accept.

Citizens for Farm Labor is committed to the removal of these injustices. But the kind of justice in which we believe is not ultimately conferred by kindly churchgoers, college professors, doctors, lawyers, government agents, growers, or by anyone else. It is won, and continually won again by men who are free to win it for themselves. The road to justice for agricultural workers--justice in the meaningful sense--is the road of freedom for agricultural workers--freedom in the meaningful sense. Not the catchword which is flung about recklessly by a farm lobby to justify its economic interests, or demagogues whose actual intent is the opposite of freedom, but freedom in the sense of control by men over their own lives.

The task of those who care most deeply about the poverty of farm workers is not so much to attack poverty in our fields as to attack bondage in our fields. We of Citizens for Farm Labor conceive our basic task to be removal of the barricades of bondage which have been erected around agricultural workers. The only solution to bondage is liberation. Our goal is liberation of agricultural workers to assemble, to petition, to vote, to speak, to listen, to decide, to act on their own behalf. When agricultural workers--or anybody else, are truly free in such ways as these, they shall no longer be locked in poverty, in the material or in any other sense. When agricultural workers are free, they will demand justice in their own name. And they will be heard.

II. General Purposes and Policies

In working toward the goal of equal rights for agricultural laborers, Citizens for Farm Labor is committed to means which are compatible with this end: Suasion as opposed to coercion; Non-violence as opposed to violence; Democracy as opposed to authoritarianism.

We will act as an independent voice, truly representing citizens of California; not dominated by or beholden to any political party, religious denomination, labor body, government agency, or other interest group.

We will work for a social climate favorable to farm worker's efforts toward self-help in these basic ways:

1. Public information. We will supply answers to those who ask what is happening in farm labor, and what it means. And we will try to stimulate the curiosity and awareness of many who have not yet asked these questions.

2. Political action. We will work for repeal of all legislation which discriminates against agricultural laborers, and we will work for enactment of new legislation to extend to farm workers the same privileges and responsibilities as workers in other industries.

3. Organizational liaison. We will strive to help increase the effectiveness of the several religious, labor, and volunteer organizations in the farm labor field, by serving as a clearing-house of information, and by pointing out areas of duplicated activity, or unmet need.

Within these three basic arenas of activity, we will carry on a variety of concrete projects ranging from research to direct action. We will offer something useful to be done, for each individual's concern and skills. The spectrum of activities will be as broad and varied as the number of persons who choose to work with Citizens for Farm Labor.

III. Program Proposals

A. Public Information.

1. Farm Labor. CFL will issue a magazine of factual reporting, opinion, book reviews, photographs, poetry, short stories, editorials, communications and announcements. Contributions will be solicited from agencies, special projects and from individuals who desire a medium of communication for their own opinions and concerns.

2. In addition to this regular publication, CFL will issue occasional publications of a more detailed and specialized nature, such as testimony on proposed legislation.

3. Flyers, leaflets and handbills will be prepared for mass distribution at political gatherings, supermarkets, and other appropriate events and locations.

4. A speakers' bureau will be formed, consisting of persons in the Bay Area and in the Central Valley who are qualified to give talks and answer

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questions at meetings of labor, church, political, and other groups. Letters will be sent to such organizations throughout CFL's area of operation, announcing that speakers are available. These presentations may, if desired, be accompanied by motion pictures or slides.

5. Contact will be maintained with the press, radio, and television. News releases will be issued in the name of CFL whenever we have something newsworthy to say. Regular commentaries will be made on the Bay Area's non-commercial FM station. If resources permit, or qualified persons volunteer, documentaries may be prepared for use on television.

B. Political Action.

1. CFL will seek equal rights for farm workers in all legislative and administrative areas. At the state level, these rights include:

- a. Coverage by unemployment insurance.
- b. Removal of the agricultural exclusion from California's FEPC law.
- c. Passage of a state Fair Labor Standards Act, extending wage, hour and child labor laws to all California workers.
- d. Amendment of the Industrial Welfare Commission's wage order for women and minors in agriculture; to make it comparable to wage orders covering women and minors in other California industries.
- e. Passage of a state collective bargaining act protecting all California workers in their right to organize.

2. Although CFL will not address itself primarily to federal legislation and administration, it will cooperate with other organizations in the national effort to obtain "parity" for workers in the industry of agriculture. "Parity" includes:

- a. Removal of the agricultural exclusion from the Taft-Hartley Act.
- b. Removal of the agricultural exclusion from the Fair Labor Standards Act.
- c. Removal of unequal treatment and agricultural exclusions from the Social Security Act.
- d. Abolition of contract labor arrangements. This includes not only the bracero system (PL 78), but a number of foreign contract systems which operate under PL 414 (McCarran-Walter Act).
- e. Enforcement of the immigration laws as they apply to visas issued in Mexico. (So-called "green card" system).
- f. Proper administration of the Sugar Act which calls for wages as well as prices, set at equitable levels.

3. CFL representatives will testify at public hearings, such as those conducted by the Industrial Welfare Commission and the various interim committees of the California Legislature.

4. CFL will develop a mailing list from which it can mount letter and telegram campaigns when a major legislative or administrative decision is pending in Sacramento or Washington, D. C.

5. CFL will study the voting records of public officials and will ask candidates where they stand on farm labor issues relevant to their office. Although it may not endorse one candidate against another, CFL will set the records of candidates side by side and let voters draw their own conclusions.

6. There may be occasions when CFL will circulate petitions. It is conceivable that CFL, with the help of other groups, will use the referendum to place farm labor issues on the state ballot.

7. During general legislative sessions, it is expected that CFL will establish direct contact with assemblymen and senators. The grower's lobby is notoriously one of the most powerful in Sacramento; to the present time, there has been no farm labor lobby as such.

C. Legal.

1. The field of agricultural labor is replete with legal questions which have never been definitively explored. For example, would it be useful to try to extend equal rights to farm workers through judicial rather than legislative means--i.e. on 14th Amendment grounds? A CFL legal committee of attorneys and law students will do research on questions such as this.

2. CFL will file briefs amicus in suits where the rights of agricultural workers are at stake.

3. CFL will, through writs of mandamus or other appropriate means, seek improved compliance with existing regulations as they affect agricultural workers.

4. CFL may initiate "test cases" in such areas as communication with farm workers in private labor camps, where a constitutional right seems clearly to be involved.

5. CFL will conduct educational activities to inform agricultural workers of the relatively few rights which they already, in theory, possess. It might for example, issue brief instructions, in Spanish and English, of what workers should do when they get sick or injured on the job, when they are cheated on their pay, etc.

6. Whether CFL will be able to offer direct legal aid to agricultural workers with job-connected problems depends on our success in developing a legal committee which functions in the Central Valley as well as the Bay Area.

D. Organizational Liaison.

There are several Northern California organizations with some degree of concern about justice for farm workers. But in many cases, one organization does not know what others are doing, and in some cases, there is actual misunderstanding. CFL will not attempt to be a "united front", minimizing legitimate differences or seeking a lowest common denominator. But it will invite

reports on the activities of various groups for the magazine Farm Labor; invite groups to support particular programs of activity; refer individuals who are interested in direct service to participate in service-oriented organizations; and place members of one group in contact with members of others who share particular interests.

E. Documentary Services.

1. CFL expects to purchase a clipping service and maintain a file on coverage of farm labor in representative California newspapers.

2. A sizable library of audio-visual materials, which are now widely scattered, could be assembled from slides, tapes, and motion pictures already in existence. These would be useful to the Speakers Bureau and available, on loan, to other interested persons.

3. There is also a wealth of magazine articles, books, government documents, and other printed material having to do with agricultural life and labor. At the present time, there is no definitive farm labor research depository to which graduate students and other interested persons can turn. This is needed, to put many of the other CFL activities on a firm underpinning of documentation and, implicitly, to point up areas which are without documentation.

F. Student Auxiliary.

1. There is a wealth of energy and talent on campuses such as Berkeley; Many of the tasks of research, compilation, and documentation mentioned above are well-suited to students in disciplines such as law, economics, political science and sociology. Other students would probably volunteer occasionally for such tasks as the clerical work involved in issuing Farm Labor.

2. Work camps on weekends and during vacations might attract many members of a CFL student auxiliary. Such projects have the twofold virtue of educating students in the most direct possible manner, and of letting farm workers know that they are not alone and forgotten.

G. Direct Action.

As the name of the organization suggests, we are citizens FOR farm labor, not primarily citizens IN farm labor. Although CFL membership will naturally be open to farm workers themselves, we shall not presume to speak in behalf of them, nor attempt to organize them. That is properly the province of the labor movement. There are however, a number of "direct action" projects which might be undertaken by CFL members. For example, informational picketing or pamphleteering outside food stores to inform consumers about the conditions under which fruits and vegetables are harvested, or to ask them not to buy certain brands which were being produced by strikebreakers.

IV. Structural Proposals

A. Advisory Board.

It is proposed that CFL have an Advisory Board composed of perhaps 25-30 respected Californians. These would be chosen, not for the "bigness" of their names, but for their known interest, activity, and expertise in farm labor and related fields. Advisors would not be expected to contribute regularly to the operation of CFL, but might be asked to contribute an occasional piece to Farm Labor, or make a public appearance in the name of CFL.

B. Steering Committee.

Persons with sufficient time and concern will constitute a steering or executive committee. These will be the people who do the day-to-day work of CFL. In time, if so many persons become involved that the steering committee grows unwieldy, a subcommittee system can be evolved along the lines of special interest discussed under Program Proposals, above.

C. Volunteers. Much of the work of the organization will be done by persons who do not have the time to serve regularly but who will be on call to type stencils, make posters, do a piece of special research in the library or the like.

D. Finances.

We are proceeding on the assumption that when a worthwhile program has been launched, financial support will be found in rough proportion to the program's worth. The first issue of Farm Labor was financed by credit. Future issues, and most of the other activities envisaged, will require, at the very least, money for stencils, mimeograph paper, ink, postage, and other unavoidable costs. We propose to meet these expenses in the following ways:

1. Subscriptions to Farm Labor. \$3.00 for twelve issues.
2. Membership in Citizens for Farm Labor. All memberships include a subscription to Farm Labor. In addition, members will receive copies of the testimony and other occasional pieces published by CFL. Members are, of course, entitled to contribute to organizational policy and decisions. Because our membership will be far-flung, the mechanism used will probably have to be correspondence rather than membership meetings. Memberships will be:

- a. Individual: \$5.00 a year.
- b. Couple: \$7.50 a year.
- c. Organization: \$10.00 a year.

3. Contributions beyond the cost of subscription or membership. We must emphasize that contributions will not be tax-deductible, since CFL will engage in political action.

4. Grants from foundations or voluntary organizations. These might be general grants-in-aid, or grants to support a particular project.

E. Although memberships and subscriptions might come from anywhere in the country, CFL's "arena" of activity will be Northern California. There is an Emergency Committee to Aid Farm Workers, in Los Angeles, which is fulfilling a number of the same functions as CFL in the southern portion of the state. We urge our friends who live below California's version of the Mason-Dixon line to support the Emergency Committee.

Editorial

HERE COMES NUMBER 90,001

If the world were going to be redeemed by magazines, we would all have been redeemed long ago. Ours must be the most highly grouped society on earth, and every group, every interest, every occupation, every chapter of everything, so it seems, has its own newsletter or journal. The Guzzler Gemeinschaft of Greater Gilroy has its magazine. Squash growers have two or three magazines, one for soft varieties, one for winter varieties, and one for mutations. The country's few thousand sociologists have dozens of journals. Socialists, of whom there are even fewer, have even more.

We are bold enough to add another to the 90,000 or so periodicals already being published, because one of the largest potential interest groups in the country is the subject or object of no magazines at all. Despite the inroads of automation, there are still more than 2,000,000 hired farm workers in the United States--and if you add their dependents, and working farmers and their dependents, you have a total of more than 10,000,000 Americans. Equality is in the air, and if the checker players of West Corneob Corners merit a journal, so do the people who labor on the nation's farms.

Now, 10,000,000 people spread over 50 states are a lot of people and a lot of states. One must begin somewhere, so we are beginning with a magazine of fact and opinion largely concerned with farm labor in part of one state--California. Northern California, covering the area from Kern and San Luis Obispo Counties north to the Oregon border, is a peculiarly pivotal farm labor area. Within this region is the capitol of the state of California, which in recent years has had the opportunity to pass on more farm labor legislation than any other legislative body in the country--and has, for the most part, failed to do so. Northern California is the site of a biennial Conference on Families Who Follow the Crops. The headquarters of every state agency concerned with farm labor--including the Departments of Public Health, Education, Employment, Industrial Relations, and Social Welfare--are located in Northern California. Northern California boasts the headquarters of Associated Farmers, Council of California Growers, California Packing Corporation, DiGiorgio Fruit Corporation, and other leaders of the fight against equal rights for farm workers. Northern California is also the location of all current efforts to organize agricultural workers: The Farm Workers Association, centered in the lower end of the San Joaquin Valley; The California Farm Labor Union (independent); and the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AFL-CIO).

We propose to report on such current developments as these. We propose to comment on the past, as it illuminates the present. We propose to comment on the types of arrangements we believe the future can and should bring. Farm Labor is the regular publication of Citizens for Farm Labor, but that is not to say its columns are closed to other voices. We welcome articles, book reviews, or other contributions from anyone who feels he has something interesting and important to say about rural life and labor. All contributions of these sorts represent the views of the authors, and not necessarily those of CFL members, staff, or advisors.

Although we will be as topical as we can, we will not attempt to serve primarily as a "bulletin board". Because of delays in writing, reproducing, and mailing a publication of this size, we will not be competing with the

daily press. There are several national newsletters which are better able than we to alert friends of farm labor to fast-breaking developments. If you want to be informed of such things as the date on which the House of Representatives is likely to vote on the extension of Public Law 78, we urge you to get on the mailing list of the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor, National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor, California Migrant Ministry, Bishops Committee on Migrant Workers, National Consumers League, or the Emergency Committee to Aid Farm Workers.

An additional word about the relationship between FARM LABOR and Citizens for Farm Labor. If you are a member of CFL, you are automatically a subscriber to this magazine. But the converse is not true. When you send us your cash, check, or money order, let us know your pleasure.

And now, let 90,000 other magazines look to their honors. Here comes number 90,001.

* * * * *

A SPECIAL INSERT, WRITTEN AND PRINTED: One Year Later.

As we reprint our first issue of FARM LABOR in November 1964, we have retrieved one-half page of the magazine to recount certain events which have transpired in a year's time. In many respects, this has been a significant year for farm labor issues--in positive and negative ways.

-----Almost exactly one year ago, the Sugar Beet Wage Hearings were held and wages were raised to \$1.15 for field workers; when it became abundantly clear several months later that these wages were not being paid to the workers, a broad investigation was authorized, resulting in back wage payments to hundreds of workers and in improved enforcement procedures. When the annual wage hearings are held again next week, we hope to see another wage increase.

-----Since the past session of the state legislature was a special budget session, there was no opportunity to introduce farm labor legislation; there has, however, been ample time to discuss legislative proposals with certain lawmakers and farm labor advocates held their first legislative conference this month in Tulare County to discuss policy and strategy measures. We enter the coming year with a tempered optimism in this regard.

-----This fall, the Industrial Welfare Commission reopened its wage board on Order 14, which has always provided discriminatory coverage to women and minors in agriculture. Last week, the Wage Board held its final session and recommended that women and minors be paid \$1.30 an hour, with comparable piece rate wages, and four hour show-up time payments. This is an important equalization measure.

But most important, the question of supplemental foreign labor has been with us during the past year. Alternatives to the bracero program were presented to the Governor on March 13 and will be reviewed again on December 7, Pearl Harbor Day, by the U.S. Department of Labor in San Francisco. In this issue of FARM LABOR, one year ago, Henry Anderson outlined what might come as we looked Beyond the Bracero System; these thoughts are a very timely reprint.

One year ago, 27 paid subscriptions to FARM LABOR had been received, and so only a fraction of our present readers received the issue which you are reading today. We hopefully believe that there has been a growing awareness and some unification of those citizens who are sincerely looking beyond the bracero system to a time when there will be Equal Fights for Agricultural Workers. It is on this note that we begin our second year.

In each issue of Farm Labor, we intend to reprint one or more statements from the past which retain their pertinence. Our "archive" series will be drawn particularly from statements which achieved only a limited circulation in their initial appearance, or which are out-of-print and generally unavailable today. "Economics and Conscience" meets all these criteria.

Fred Van Dyke is a Board member of the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor. He farmed in the San Joaquin Valley for sixteen years, until his fellow growers hounded him out of the industry for such views as the following. "Economics and Conscience," here slightly edited, was a speech given at a meeting of the Stockton Council of Churches, in October, 1960. When the history of the farm labor movement is written, we are certain that Fred Van Dyke's moral and economic position will be vindicated--and he can return to the farming he loves.

ECONOMICS AND CONSCIENCE

By Fred Van Dyke

If you had asked me, ten years ago, or even five years ago, to speak on the "agricultural labor problem," I would have spoken to you about my difficulties in locating and holding reliable workers, and I would have talked about my troubles in meeting production costs, of which labor costs are the largest single element. To most farmers, these are still the core of the "farm labor problem": obtaining enough qualified workers, paying the bills. However, I have now come to the view that these difficulties are mere symptoms, and that they miss the essential point. To my mind, the essence of the farm labor problem may be summed up very briefly in the following way: agriculture is disorganized.

You will perhaps wonder why I view this matter in such a different light than I did a few years ago. I would say that the change in my thinking is the result of two types of influences: the first is economic analysis; the second, I must call conscience.

As a citizen of this democratic country, as a Christian, simply as a human being, my conscience was increasingly troubled over the years by the evidence I saw of basic human damage to the men, women, and children who cultivate and harvest the crops in San Joaquin County where I farm. Let me give you just one example of the human damage which has forced me to look into my own conscience. Not too long ago, I noticed a farm worker's car parked beside

the road, not more than a mile and a half from where I live. Do you know what I found inside that stifling car? Three little children. The youngest, a baby not more than a year old, was screaming from pain. The flesh on the lower part of his body was raw because he had diarrhea and had been soiling himself all day without being cleansed or changed. The next oldest, a youngster about three or four years old, was burning with the highest fever I have ever felt in any child--and I know something about children, because my wife and I have six of our own. The third child was a little boy of perhaps five or six. He was unconscious and very nearly dead. Would you like to know why those children were in that car? Would you like to know what the parents were doing? The parents were in a nearby orchard, picking cherries so that Americans could enjoy that luxury fruit at their breakfast tables, or on top of their banana splits, or in their Manhattan cocktails.

No system can be tolerated within which such things are possible. I do not care what arguments the Associated Farmers and Farm Bureau may advance. They complain about a "cost-price squeeze." They claim that agriculture is "unique" because it deals with perishable commodities. They complain about the unpredictability of the weather. All this is so much rationalization, and evasion. All of it is irrelevant when compared to even one single child weeping from hunger or from pain. The moral argument, the humanitarian argument, closes debate without any further evidence required. The argument based upon conscience demands--and I say demands--that existing arrangements in agricultural labor be rethought and rebuilt from the very ground up. The question of how this is to be done is secondary. The first step is to recognize that it must be done. Then ways will be found. If you agree with me that man is, at least when he has to be, capable of reason, then you will agree with me that things which must be done can be done.

This brings me to the second line of thought I should like to pursue. As I have studied the farm labor problem increasingly closely over the years, I have grown convinced that there are very sound and very compelling reasons to believe that existing farm labor policies and practices not only should be, but can be, basically reconstructed. Most of these reasons are economic in nature.

(1) In our national magazines, in political speeches, almost everywhere we turn, we hear more and more about the problem of overproduction of farm commodities. Actually, this is a problem of underconsumption more than of overproduction. Nearly two billion people in the world have less than enough to eat at the same time that warehouses in the United States are overflowing with food that we cannot use. True, most of the surplus consists of non-perishable commodities, whereas most of the major crops grown in California are perishable. We probably cannot ship fresh asparagus, peaches, and tomatoes to India. Nonetheless, I regard the problems faced by growers of perishable crops as basically the same as the problems of grain, legume, and cotton growers: namely, an imbalance between supply and demand. Likewise, the solution is, at bottom, the same: improved distribution and increased consumption.

I suggest that when it comes to improved distribution and consumption of fruits and vegetables, it is not necessary for us to look overseas for new markets. In our own society, there are large pools of poverty within which fruits and vegetables are underconsumed. And, incredible as it seems, the largest such pocket of underconsumption consists of the very people who produce

fruits and vegetables through their labor: hired farm workers. Think what a difference it would make to San Joaquin County asparagus growers if California's 400,000 agricultural wage workers and their dependents could afford to eat asparagus. Think what a boon to California peach growers if the country's two and a quarter million agricultural wage workers and their dependents were able to supplement their starch diets with a can of peaches every other week. This alone would increase the market for canned cling peaches by nearly 10%!

This, then, is my first economic reason for supporting improvements in farm wages: increased purchasing power among farm workers would, to a large extent, go toward increased consumption of the products we grow here in California. It is bitterly ironic that the producers of these crops should be fighting against the farm labor movement. Other classes of businessmen fought equally vigorously during the 1930's against such improvements as the Fair Labor Standards Act, but they have learned in the past twenty-five years that cheap labor is a false economy. Tomato growers should learn from textile manufacturers, peach growers from automobile manufacturers, that it does little good to put an attractive product on the market if potential customers cannot afford to buy it.

(2) As an employer, and a modest-sized businessman, I believe firmly in the free enterprise system. Although I myself at one time employed Mexican Nationals, I no longer do so, because the bracero program is, in addition to being morally repulsive, a direct and massive denial of the free enterprise system. It is astonishing that the farm spokesmen who are loudest in their demands for "freedom from government regulation" are equally loud in their demands for foreign contract labor. The bracero program totally upsets the normal, healthy operations of a free economy. Ordinarily, the laws of supply and demand work in the following ways: a given industry must compete with other industries for a labor supply; the cost of labor serves as a natural brake against overproduction and hence against depressed prices. Public Law 78, passed by the U.S. Congress in 1951, in effect repeals these ancient and healthy laws of supply and demand. Public Law 78 was created at the insistence of large-scale growers and processors. It was obviously intended as an anti-labor device. There can be no doubt it has hurt farm workers, and hurt them badly. But it has taught this perhaps even more important lesson: when you tamper with fundamental economic laws, you end up hurting yourself more than anybody else.

Let me illustrate my point by discussing what has happened in tomatoes. This is a subject which I can discuss with assurance, since I myself grew tomatoes for many years, until I was forced out by the chaos of the industry. Before the widespread use of braceros, we tomato growers used to get about \$30 a ton from the canneries. At that price, we were able to make a reasonable profit. In those days, there was a balance between what we were producing and the nationwide demand for canned tomatoes. We planted about 25,000 acres of tomatoes in San Joaquin County, which yielded between 350,000 and 400,000 tons. We paid our workers about 18 cents a box--sometimes more--and at this rate had no difficulty attracting the 6,000 workers necessary to bring in the crop. 1951, the first year of Public Law 78, saw the beginning of a number of changes. About 2,500 braceros were used that year. Tomato acreage and tonnage increased. When supply goes up, cost goes down. 1952 brought a sharp decline in the cannery price of tomatoes. We growers responded by slashing wages, which by 1954 had declined to 11 cents a box.

Besides cutting wages, we tried to keep our heads above water by increasing our tomato plantings still further. In 1956, nearly 50,000 acres of tomatoes were planted in San Joaquin County, yielding nearly 1,000,000 tons: about three times the pre-bracero figure. Did this orgy of tomato production bear any relationship to the demand for tomatoes? It did not. It bore a relationship to nothing but the existence of a labor force which was available in unlimited numbers, at whatever wages we tomato growers unilaterally decided to offer. My fellow growers and I thought we would make a killing by taking advantage of this cheap labor supply, furnished to us through the courtesy of the federal government. In fact, we very nearly killed off the tomato industry in the most important tomato growing county in the United States. Since 1955, the price of tomatoes has hovered around \$22 a ton, and I can assure you that this figure does not provide a reasonable return to the average grower.

But have we learned our painful lesson in elementary economics? I regret to say that we evidently have not. I read in the paper just yesterday that 97% of the tomatoes grown in our area this year are being harvested by Mexican contract workers.

(3) There is one cure, and one cure only, for such senselessness in agricultural production, and that is planning. As I have said, I believe sincerely in free enterprise. There is nothing inconsistent between this belief and a belief in planning. I am not suggesting that anybody from the U.S. Department of Agriculture should tell me and my neighbors how many acres of tomatoes to plant. I am suggesting that my neighbors and I sit down within the next few weeks, and begin talking about what has happened to the tomato industry; how large the canners' backlogs are; how many tomatoes the American people are likely to consume next year, taking into account population increases, economic tendencies, and trends in popular taste; how many tomatoes we should plant to meet the needs of the consuming public; when we should plant them; what varieties we should plant; and so forth.

Let us assume that careful studies indicated tomatoes were being over-produced in San Joaquin County by 20%. Would this mean that each farmer presently growing tomatoes would grow 20% less? Not at all. Some efficient producers might even grow more. But some, who would do better in other crops, should stop growing tomatoes altogether. I know of many farmers who are trying to grow tomatoes, whose land is quite unsuitable for growing tomatoes. They should be growing grapes, or almonds, or something else. On the other hand, I know of many farmers who own vineyards, or almond orchards, which are marginal, and which are no favor to their owners or to the industry. They should be ripped out and planted to more suitable crops. I am suggesting, in other words, that there needs to be planning not only among the growers of each commodity, but between the growers of all commodities.

Farmers should be growing crops in a frame of reference with at least three limitations: (a) market conditions; (b) limitations of land, climate, and water; (c) their own competence. If any one or a combination of these three factors is ignored--and all three are largely ignored at present--the result is chaos and anarchy in production, and prices so depressed that only large, vertically-integrated, corporate enterprises can survive.

(4) To date, growers have tried to cope with the vicious circle of overproduction, low prices, and low wages, by fighting tooth and nail against the efforts of the workers to improve their lot either through self-organization or through political action. Such a reaction from growers is tragically misplaced, and can only aggravate the conditions which gave it rise. I have come to the conclusion that the kindest thing I can do for my fellow growers, myself, and the industry in which I have spent my life, is to support in every way I can the current efforts of farm workers to improve their wages and working conditions. I am convinced that nothing less than the organization of farm workers into effective bargaining units is going to bring about the organization of growers themselves into effective groups for the planning of production and for bargaining with packers, shippers, canners, chain stores, and wholesalers. I hate to have to say this. I would like to believe that we growers might be saved from our foolishness through the exercise of our own intelligence. But I have been forced regretfully to the conclusion that too many of my fellow farmers--not all, by any means, but too many--have become habituated over the years to "going it alone," and they will apparently not give up this habit on the basis of friendly persuasion by me or by anyone else. They will rearrange their industry from the ground up--as it has to be rearranged--only as they are forced to choose between that alternative and going out of business entirely. There is only one force in our society of countervailing forces which can bring about this change: the force of organized labor.

You may say to me, "That will mean giving up freedom and independence." I say to you that the only freedom the average farmer has today is the freedom to go broke. The day that men representing me and my fellow farmers sit down across the table from men representing the laborers who work for us, will in fact be an Independence Day for farmers. We will be truly free, for the first time, in a very real sense. We will be free from worries about where our labor supply is to come from. We will be free from the whims of government labor agents who have no insight whatever into the agricultural industry. And we will be free from our own excesses under a system, or lack of system, which has been marked not by freedom, but by license.

I do not mean to suggest that I support the farm labor movement carte blanche and without qualification. I support a reliable and responsible farm labor movement. On the basis of my observations, I would say the movement is being led by sober and sensible men. But I would offer this further advice to my grower friends. When social movements are long thwarted and frustrated, they undergo internal changes. If growers continue to deny the very possibility of collective bargaining in agriculture, I do not know what changes the future may bring in the leadership or policies of the farm labor movement. If asparagus growers in my county of San Joaquin are really interested in an orderly harvest of their crop beginning next February, they should begin bargaining with worker representatives right now. Cherry growers should begin bargaining, through their association, some time in November. And so it should go through the year, with the negotiations taking place months in advance, rather than in the orchards and fields at the time crops are ripe for harvesting.

The fact some strikes have taken place this year in the midst of the harvest does not suggest to me that the farm workers' union prefers this technique. It suggests, rather, that this is the only technique left when growers' associations refuse to bargain in good faith in advance.

I leave you, then, with two appeals. First, I appeal to economic reason. I do this because I love agriculture, and I want it to survive in dignity. I love placing seeds in the earth, and watering them, and helping plants grow, and harvesting the good and useful things which they bear. I want to continue in this honorable work, and I want my sons to be able to carry it on if they so choose.

Secondly, I leave you with an appeal to conscience. I do this because I care about human beings. The men and women and children who are at this moment laboring in our fields and orchards and vineyards are just as important as I am--just as important as you are. Perhaps more so. Are these not the people Jesus spoke of in the Sermon on the Mount? They are the meek, the poor in spirit, those who mourn, those who hunger and thirst after righteousness. They shall be filled; they shall be comforted; they shall inherit the earth. Little children weeping from pain or hunger or loneliness shall one day no longer be hidden on our back roads, hidden from the eyes of America. Their parents shall one day work pridefully in what is--or should be--a noble calling: the production of our daily bread. That day is coming, and I believe it is coming soon, because America has a conscience, and the American conscience will demand that justice be fulfilled.

I KNOW A CHILD
by Susan Hopkins,
Migrant Ministry

I know a child with bright eyes shining,
With brown hands itching, with brown face pining
For the toy or ball or rope or book
I bring each day....then take away.

I know a child with eagerness for learning,
Whose mind is burning
To know the things which I can tell him of birds
Or Indians or flowers or white field mice
Or Jesus Christ.

I know a child who never knows
Why his parent comes and goes
And leaves him with an older brother,
Or sister, or relative, or other,
But wants to live, and get....and give.

I know a child whose brown face turns
To my white one and yearns
To see me smile, or touch her cheek,
Or squeeze her hand, to prove that in the end
She has one friend.

I love a child with migrant parent
To whom my hand squeeze might have meant
The difference between loneliness and friendship,
Rejection or acceptance, dejection or elation;
And pray to God above
This child understand my love.

FM station KPFA, in Berkeley, was the first listener-supported, non-commercial station in the country. (There are now three others.)

Freedom from sponsors confers not only freedom from interruptions for commercials--it also confers freedom of attitude and expression. It is possible to discuss subjects on KPFA which are not treated by other mass media, either because they are judged to lack "listener appeal," or because they might offend the advertisers. Henry Anderson recently began a series of monthly commentaries over KPFA, most of which will have to do with agricultural labor. Following are the transcripts of the first three commentaries in this series.

BEYOND THE BRACERO SYSTEM

Part I

Last May 29, our spokesmen in the United States House of Representatives made one of the most important decisions they have been called upon to make in a long while. The question before the House was: shall the bracero program, under Public Law 78, be extended again as it has been in the past? A "yes" vote meant the bracero system would be continued in its present form until the end of 1965, with every possibility of further extension beyond that date. A "no" vote meant that the system would come to an end on December 31 of this year. The vote was 158 yeas against 174 nays. After half a dozen Congressional **blessings** since its initial passage in 1951, it appears that Public Law 78 is finally to be permitted to die.

I should like to explain why I consider this one of the more significant decisions Congress has made in our time. Then I should like to discuss what seems likely to happen now, as an aftermath of this decision. These events, past and future, ought to be of real concern to every American.

What is this word, "bracero?" It is from the Spanish, and means, literally, "arm-man." It might be freely translated as "man who works with his arms and hands"--roughly equivalent to our phrase "farm hand." And what is the bracero system? On the surface, it is simply an arrangement between the governments of the United States and Mexico, whereby farm workers are brought to this country under contract to fill farm labor "shortages". I hope there are quote marks in my voice as I use that word, "shortages," for this, the most basic concept of the bracero system, is its most fallacious. Suppose that wages in the steel industry averaged eighty-one cents an hour, and there was no overtime, no sick leave, no unemployment insurance, no health or welfare or pension plans, no child labor laws, no minimum wage, no worker representation, and the average worker was able to find employment only a little over a third of the time. If, under these conditions, American citizens preferred to work in other industries, would you say there was a

"labor shortage" in the steel industry? Or would you say the "labor shortage" was utterly spurious and artificial, and that the only real shortage was in wages and working conditions? This is the situation in the type of agriculture which claims it needs the bracero system.

Public Law 78 goes on to say that no braceros are supposed to be imported if their presence in this country will have an adverse effect on American workers similarly employed. This is an insult to a rational person's rationality. Since braceros are imported at the very same wages and conditions which Americans have refused as substandard, braceros have always, automatically, by definition, had an adverse effect on the farm labor market. Without their presence, farm wages would have had to rise to attract an American labor force. Growers would have had to make whatever adjustments within their industry were necessary to pay such wages. But within the wonderland of the bracero system, no adjustments were required. Farm wages could be, and often were, frozen at levels intolerable to American citizens, but acceptable to impoverished peasants from underdeveloped Mexico. And this by businessmen who call themselves defenders of a free economy!

Economically, the results have been disastrous. In many parts of the Southwest, American farm workers have been forced to a simple and brutal choice: either accept the standards of Mexican peons, or get out of farm labor altogether. The adverse effect built into the bracero system is most direct and obvious in the case of hired workers, but it is by no means confined to them. Small farmers and their family helpers have had the value of their labor devalued in very much the same manner, and to the same extent, as hired farm workers--even though they may not realize it. Family farmers have left the land by the tens of thousands, and their farms are absorbed by farming corporations. No more than 2% of the country's growers have ever used braceros; they have tended to be heavily concentrated in California and the Southwest--and they have tended to be industrialized growers. The largest bracero-user in California last year, for example, was the California Packing Corporation, which used 1,456 braceros. Is CPC a "farmer?" It is a \$300,000,000 corporation.

As a matter of fact, the bracero system has even had an adverse effect on bracero-users themselves, if they only recognized it. Lured on by an unlimited supply of cheap labor, artificially created by an act of Congress, growers have thought they could make a quick killing by greatly expanding their plantings of tomatoes and other crops--without regard for the demand of the marketplace. Returns to growers for many crops have dropped during the bracero era, but instead of analyzing their problems properly, they have attempted to recoup by ever and ever more and cheaper labor--the very root of their troubles.

But, devastating as its economic damage has been, the greatest and most basic evil of the bracero system is political, sociological, psychological--and moral, if I may use that word in an age which seems not to believe in morality any more. The bracero system is a captive labor system. That is the long and the short of it. We call ourselves the leaders of the free world, and yet we have tolerated a system of imported peonage within our borders for these many years.

What do you think of when you think of the concept, freedom? Freedom of association, perhaps? If braceros attempt to band themselves together, they are shipped back to Mexico. Freedom to move, perhaps? If braceros leave the place to which they are assigned by their masters, they are apprehended as surely as runaway slaves, and shipped back to Mexico. Freedom to petition for redress of grievances? If braceros complain, they are blacklisted as troublemakers and shipped back to Mexico. Freedom to have a family? Braceros are denied the right to family life so long as they remain in our country. Freedom to communicate and to receive communications? When Americans have tried to talk with braceros, they have been arrested, found guilty and the judgment has been upheld in an appellate court of the State of California.

Do you believe, as I believe, that freedom ought to mean choice between viable alternatives? Braceros have no choices. They must work for whomever they are told, doing whatever they are told, wherever they are told, for as long as they are told, under whatever conditions they are told. Their choice is only between selling themselves into indentured servitude in the United States, or staying in Mexico and slowly starving to death. This is not a choice between viable alternatives. The choice between slavery and starvation is freedom's opposite; it is a classical wellspring of despotism.

But the Governor of California, a liberal Democrat, sees nothing wrong with the bracero system. He urged the extension of the program this year. The President of the United States, a liberal Democrat, sees nothing wrong with the bracero system. He also urged its extension this year. This is the same gentleman who uses the word, freedom, so generously when he is talking about Cuba or Berlin. The record of conservatives on this issue is, if anything, even worse. The California Republican Assembly has voted for the revival of the bracero program. The Honorable Mr. Goldwater is an ardent supporter of the bracero system. This is the same gentleman who will solicit your vote next year on the grounds that he believes in freedom. Words are losing all meaning. . .

To the best of my knowledge, there is only one labor system in the world to match the bracero program for unvarnished tyranny, and that is the way mine operators and planters in the Union of South Africa obtain contract workers from native kraals, where the Bantus are kept penned until they are so wretched and desperate they are willing to accept whatever is offered. South Africa, interestingly enough, is also a charter member of the "free world."

Time does not permit me to develop fully this point: that the bracero system, in its essence, is a rape of freedom. Time does not permit me to develop the parallels between the bracero system and the chattel labor system which we may have thought was abolished by the Emancipation Proclamation exactly one hundred years ago. If anyone cares to pursue this subject, he may be interested in the book, Fields of Bondage. Further information may be obtained from this station.

It may seem, in view of the Congressional action of May 29, that the bracero issue is mercifully behind us and that I am merely dragging over

the dead embers of history. I suggest this is not the case. If there is one thought I want to leave with you, it is this: the bracero system is not an isolated phenomenon. It is a manifestation of an enduring cast of mind which I propose to call the plantation mentality. Among other things, this cast of mind insists on large-scale agriculture rather than an agriculture of freeholders. It insists there is something demeaning and degrading about working on the land--that the people who own the land should not be expected to work on the land. And it insists that large-scale agriculture must have unrestricted access to one or another form of captive labor.

This is the attitude on which the plantation economy of the ante-bellum South rested--the attitude which was somehow able to rationalize human slavery in the midst of a society which called itself God-fearing and democratic. It is the same attitude on which the plantation economy of California and the Southwest has always rested. The large-scale, industrialized California agriculture which we may take for granted is not by any means rooted in the natural order of things. It assumed its present form because of the prior existence of a large pool of Chinese coolie labor which was discharged into the Central Valley in 1869, upon completion of the Southern Pacific Railroad. In later decades, the Chinese coolies were replaced by contract workers imported from Japan, who were in turn replaced by one after another group of workers who invariably had a distinguishing characteristic in common: they were so disadvantaged, so inarticulate, so desperately poor, they were willing to work under conditions tantamount to captivity. The list includes Hindus, Arabs, Filipinos, Dust Bowl refugees, prisoners-of-war, convicts, wetbacks, and braceros. Labor standards in California agriculture--or the absence of standards--have always been set by the latest in the apparently endless chain of captive workers.

California growers have come to assume that they have an inherent right to a captive labor force. The corruption of the plantation mentality has gone so far that California growers assume it is the government's responsibility--that is, taxpayers, you and me--to provide them with their captive workers.

The plantation mentality dies hard, when it dies at all. The Emancipation Proclamation did not abolish the captive labor tradition of the Old South. A system of sharecropping and tenant farming was developed which was not very different in kind from chattel slavery. The stories we read in our newspapers daily, from Georgia, and Alabama, and Mississippi, testify that the plantation mentality has never really died, and the captive workers have not yet really been freed.

Just so, I suggest that the battle over the bracero system is not really over. The larger battle, of which this is only a part, may never be over. There is an irrepressible conflict between two radically different visions of agriculture: one of free men, and the other of workers in some form of bondage. This conflict will haunt our consciences because agriculture is and will continue to be the most necessary of all human endeavors. And the conflict will haunt us because it is worldwide. It has been the basis for many Latin American revolutions, and will be the basis for many which are almost certain to come. It is the basis for much of the unrest in Africa.

Amid all the talk of industrialization, we should not forget that most of the world is still primarily agrarian, and the cry for agrarian justice and land reform moves more human beings than the cry for industrial justice. But although bondage is particularly conspicuous in agriculture here and abroad, you may, if you like, view agrarian movements as part of an overarching quest which will continue so long as it is possible for any men, anywhere, in any manner, to hold any other men in thralldom.

I urge you, then, to bear these things in mind: the plantation mentality; the captive labor tradition which is as old as California agriculture itself; the entire, complex, entrenched institution which has been erected on this foundation, and which, in the manner of social institutions generally, has sent tentacles deeply into our other social institutions--economic, educational, political, judicial, and all the rest.

What will happen now that the bracero system seems destined to expire on December 31? Given the background I have sketched, several things are all too likely to occur. In the first place, bracero-users are going to press for restoration of their system in this session of Congress. They are already doing so. They are attempting to exploit the usual liberal weakness for compromise by saying, "If you won't let us have a two year extension of our system, the only reasonable thing is to let us have a one year extension." They may get it. They have powerful and wealthy friends and allies. And opponents of the system may be exhausted after their long battle for abolition. Their guards are down. The vote of May 29 may well be overturned before the present session adjourns. All kinds of curious things become possible in the frantic final few weeks of a Congressional session.

What if the bracero-users do not get their system restored this year? It is scheduled to expire, you recall, on December 31. At that time the great majority of bracero-users will be in the middle of the winter slack season without any labor needs at all. But there are two significant exceptions. The Imperial Valley lettuce harvest will be in full swing. And so will the Southern California harvest of lemons and navel oranges. Both these crops are heavily dominated by bracero labor, even though both industries are in monopolistic positions and could well arrange to pay whatever would be required to attract American workers. Will they do so? I doubt it very much.

Consider the situation. Potential profits in the winter lettuce and citrus crops are perhaps on the order of fifteen million dollars. Bracero-users are playing for much larger stakes than that. The total farm wage bill in California is now about half a billion dollars a year. If farm wages rose to the level of other industrial wages, they would total at least a billion ^{and} a half dollars a year. The difference--one billion dollars a year--is the stake industrial agriculture is really playing for. By comparison, a fifteen million dollar loss, for one season, does not seem so very great.

Perhaps you anticipate what I am suggesting. It is altogether within the realm of possibility that citrus and lettuce growers will deliberately let their crops go unharvested this coming winter to show Congress that "Americans won't do farm labor." Growers can accomplish this in the easiest possible manner: by simply doing nothing. By sitting back, offering the same

old wages and working conditions and indignity which Americans have long rejected as intolerable. Losses sustained by individual growers could be underwritten by the industry as a whole, in much the same manner the Council of California Growers and other labor-busting organizations have been underwritten in the recent past. And the corporation executives and Madison Avenue types who really make the decisions in the name of California's 90,000 growers will pull out all the stops in their public relations machinery. Somehow, the phrase "crops rotting in the fields" has a visceral appeal which otherwise reasonable men seem unable to resist. I warn you in advance to expect to hear this phrase many times in the months ahead, even though I can tell you in the interests of strict accuracy that lettuce, when left to its own devices, does not rot. It just goes to seed.

Will Congress be able to hold out against this kind of hysteria? You are able to judge the courage of Congress as well as I. But let us assume, for the sake of discussion, that Congress does hold out. Will industrial agriculture then go about its proper business of recruiting and training a labor force of American workers, under American conditions? The odds are still against it.

Bracero-users will have another recourse. If Public Law 78 is not revived amid the manufactured crises of next winter and spring, there will still be a way agricultural employers can get foreign workers into the country: under Public Law 414, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1950, more commonly known as the McCarran-Walter Act. Among other things, this law says that workers shall not be admitted from abroad if the U.S. Secretary of Labor determines that their presence will adversely affect the wages and working conditions of Americans similarly employed. But for all practical purposes, this portion of the law has been nullified by a wholly arbitrary policy of the Departments of Labor, Justice, and State. The Departments have decided not to make any investigations into adverse effect if a given employer imports fewer than 25 workers at any one time.

You haven't heard, and you won't hear, about workers being imported through this administrative loophole by, say, automobile manufacturers. That industry is organized, and the United Auto Workers, needless to say, wouldn't stand for any such connivance. You haven't heard, and you won't hear, about workers being pulled through the loophole from Africa or Asia, because the McCarran-Walter Act is a racist law, and Africans and Asians are almost wholly excluded. But Mexico is exempt from the quota system of the Act. And Southwestern agriculture has no organized labor movement worthy of the name. The only reason industrial growers have not made more use of the McCarran-Walter loophole to date is that it was even simpler for them to get braceros. Take away the braceros, and workers under the McCarran-Walter Act, as it is presently administered, will begin to hold a fatal fascination for the plantation mentality.

As a matter of fact, the shrewder California growers have already imported some thousands of workers under this new system, during the past two or three years. They call them "green cards", because of the color of the identifying document the workers are required to carry at all times. The card, you see, is more important than the flesh-and-blood human being who carries it. Remember this phrase: "green card." The next great battle

in the long war between the plantation mentality and free men will probably be waged over this issue.

"Green card" workers are captives almost as surely as braceros are, and in much the same ways. They come to the United States, leaving their families behind them, because they are driven by the knout of hunger. In order to get the necessary credentials, they must pay large bribes, which are as illegal as they are universal in this system, just as in the bracero system. To pay these bribes, a penniless Mexican peon must go deeply into debt to a money-lender or labor contractor on the Mexican side of the border, who is in league with the employers on the U.S. side. These debts constitute a club over the head of the workers to ensure that they, like the braceros, will work, uncomplainingly, at whatever wages they are offered, and all the rest of it: the whole unsavory captive labor tradition all over again.

If bracero-users fail in the efforts to overturn the Congressional decision of last May 29, I venture to predict that next year there will be 70,000 "green card" workers in California's fields, replacing the 70,000 braceros who were here last year. That is, unless something is done about the conditions which gave rise to the bracero system in the first place; unless some countervailing force in our society emerges to challenge frontally the plantation mentality in the Southwest, as it is starting to be challenged in the Southeast.

What might these countervailing forces be? How might the underlying conditions be changed? How can we use this opportunity to move beyond the bracero system--to convert our fields of bondage to the free and blooming fields they ought to be? I should like to discuss these questions with you in my next program.

July 31, 1963

BEYOND THE BRACERO SYSTEM

Part II

In my last program, I pointed out that Congress recently voted to let the bracero system expire at the end of this year. I defined this system as essentially a captive labor arrangement. I suggested that the bracero system is only the latest in a long procession of various forms of captive labor in plantation agriculture. Most of my previous remarks were devoted to an unsentimental look at what California growers are likely to do now that Congress has voted to end the Mexican National system. I predicted that the plantation mentality, left to its natural impulses, is going to search for some substitute form of captive labor. I said that the chances are all too good this search is going to succeed. But I ended by suggesting that the termination of the bracero system could become a real turning point toward a new and infinitely preferable farm labor tradition--if we care enough to insist upon it. I should now like to develop this thought with you.

California agriculture is a gigantic and vital industry. But it is a giant which has never matured. It is irresponsible, because society-at-large has allowed it to behave irresponsibly, on the absurd premise that industrialized agriculture is "farming" and that farming is not really a business but a way of life, like a religious vocation, and therefore exempt from the things we usually require of businesses. The irresponsibility of corporate agriculture takes many forms, but perhaps the most spectacular is the assumption that this industry is not responsible for attracting, and retaining, and managing a labor force made up of American workingmen.

Corporation growers, from their executive suites on Madison Avenue, or Wall Street, or the equivalent, issue press releases that "Americans just won't do farm labor." As you hear this nonsense in the months ahead, I trust you will bear in mind the truth that there are, in fact, many more American farm workers than there are jobs for them. Here are some of the places growers could find workers if they really wanted to.

First, in the "shoestring communities" on the fringes of every city and town in every agricultural area of California. Thousands of the domestic farm workers who have been driven out of the farm labor market by the bracero system are living in these shacktowns.

Second, there are huge pools of unemployment close to areas of agricultural production. There are hundreds of thousands of unemployed in Los Angeles, for example, at the same time thousands of braceros are imported into the area on the pretext of a "labor shortage." There are thousands of unemployed at the northern end of Alameda County, at the same time braceros are imported into the southern end of the county. This is a kind of madness which must stop.

Third, agricultural workers in many parts of the state are without work, in the midst of a slack season, at the very time growers in other regions are crying "labor shortage" and the government is obediently shipping in braceros from two thousand miles away. Perhaps you remember a story which appeared on the front page of the San Francisco Chronicle last winter. A

woman in Kern County gave birth to triplets, but instead of regarding this as a joyful event, she regarded it as "the worst thing that ever happened" to her. Her husband was a farm laborer, there is almost no work in Kern County in the winter, and farm workers are excluded from unemployment insurance. I suppose most readers shrugged, and thought "Too bad," without any inkling of the most tragic part of that story. There was no need for the husband to have been unemployed. There is a great deal of farm work in California in the winter--in the Coachella Valley, in San Diego County, in the citrus belt from Orange through Santa Barbara Counties, and in the Imperial Valley. But it is done by braceros. The Kern County family, along with tens of thousands of other farm labor families who don't make headlines because they don't have triplets, are all victims of the prevailing madness which allows growers to complain of "labor shortages" when just over the Tehachapis there is a surfeit of farm workers.

Such reservoirs of domestic workers would be more than sufficient to meet the artificial "farm labor crisis" you will be hearing about in the months ahead. But even if they were not, there would still remain the largest domestic farm labor pool of all. A million and a half farm laborers have been displaced by the introduction of the mechanical cotton picker in the South. The civil rights movement in the South and elsewhere should recognize that there is not just a problem of being allowed to eat in urban places of public accommodation. There is a grave problem of having anything at all to eat at home in the rural areas.

In the coming months, you are going to hear a lot of agitation in favor of forcing people off the relief rolls to do farm work, and a lot of talk about putting students to work in the fields during summer vacations. Amidst this agitation, I hope we do not lose sight of our proper goal, and the means we have to employ if we are ever to reach it. The goal we are here suggesting is an agricultural industry which behaves as an industry should in the middle of the 20th Century in the most highly developed economy the world has ever known. We will never reach such a goal through the exploitation of cheap, substandard, disadvantaged, captive labor. The kind of student employment which growers and government agencies are currently advocating will keep farm wages at their present intolerably low levels, and will, in effect, displace domestic farm workers in the same manner the bracero system has done. And the "work or starve" edicts which growers are going to demand from county welfare departments will be just another link in the captive labor chain. Under present conditions, a man can usually earn less working in agriculture than he can by drawing county welfare. If he is forced to do farm labor at existing wage levels, or starve, he will be no better off than a bracero: a captive worker, under exactly the same kind of economic lash. Far from curing the sickness of the farm labor market, this would only perpetuate it.

There is another possibility on which I would like to comment briefly. In 1942, I was attending high school in the Santa Clara Valley. Apricots were the major crop in the area. The United States had just entered World War II. Many young men had volunteered for the armed forces. The apricot growers needed pickers. They turned to the communities of that Valley--Palo Alto, Los Altos, and the rest--and they said, in so many words, "We are all in this thing together. This is a crop the whole community benefits from; the whole community has a responsibility to help with it." So we went out: housewives, teachers, businessmen, workers from other industries, people from every

walk of life. Even growers themselves helped pick their own crop. Apricot picking is skilled work (like most agricultural labor), and we broke some limbs, and pulled off some spurs, and picked some green fruit, but somehow or other we got in the crop. By the following year, the bracero system had begun, and we all sank back into irresponsibility again.

If there is a genuine community crisis--a genuine possibility that food might go unharvested--the community could be called on to meet that crisis, as it was in 1942. I see a virtue in this beyond the mere fact it is a feasible way to harvest fruits and vegetables. I think it is a good thing for people to be responsible. I think it is a good thing for our tight division of labor and high degree of segmentalization to break down. I think it is a good thing for us to find out what is going on just over the hill, or just outside the city limits. And, particularly, I think it would be a good thing for groups to start becoming communities in the proper sense of that word. We say that we live in communities, but we are strangers to one another. If harvests might draw us together in a common endeavor, and might break down a little of our estrangement, this could be a very good thing. But I think that the remedy for the basic dehumanization of our kind of society is going to have to cut deeper. If it is sloughed off on agriculture, and everything else remains the same as it is now, we might be doing little more than preserving the myth of agricultural "differentness." Appeals to community responsibility could easily be used as a cover for artificial labor shortages--artificial for the same reason they are now. I passionately wish to see meaningful communities develop--that is to say, meaningful relationships between man and man--and I would be very much interested in the contributions agriculture could make to this process. But it must be in concert with other strands in our social fabric, not in isolation from them.

* * * * *

California growers used about 70,000 braceros last year, at the peak. I have pointed out a number of labor pools large enough to fill these jobs many times over. But to point out potential farm workers is not enough. Agricultural employers are going to have to do something better than offer jobs at piece rates which may pay a dollar an hour if you apply yourself hard enough; where there is no wage floor; where there is work only four months out of the year; where there is no unemployment insurance the rest of the year; where you may work twelve hours a day, without overtime pay; where, if you get sick, it will be on your own time; where there are no holidays, and no vacations with pay; where there are no health insurance plans and no pension plans. Some American citizens accept these conditions--not because they like to; usually because they are victims of racial discrimination and unable to enter any other labor market. But no one should have to accept such conditions in mid-20th Century America. To recruit any additional workers, and hold onto the ones they have, growers must do several things.

First, they must stabilize the employment they offer. They must do this on a day-to-day basis, which we may call "decasualization," and on a year-around basis, which we may call "deseasonalization."

The day-to-day insecurities of farm labor can be removed through the principle of the hiring hall. Work on the waterfront used to be as chaotic as farm work is today. Longshoremen used to have to get their jobs through

"shape-ups," which were a continual gamble, and gave rise to a great deal of bitterness, violence, and corruption. The hiring hall has brought order out of the chaos, and largely eliminated the corruption and violence. Agriculture has not matured beyond the "shape-up" phase. It is going to have to, if it is ever going to recruit and retain American workers.

California agriculture has been allowed to develop other practices which are bound to dishearten any labor force. In most parts of California, the growing season is extraordinarily long. Something could be harvested nearly the year around. Obviously, the longer the period of guaranteed employment, the more attractive the job to potential workers. But growers have never had to try to make their jobs attractive; they have never had to consider the feelings of their workers. They have tended to plant highly speculative, highly seasonal crops--"flash deals," as they are called in the trade--with an eye not to potential workers, but only to potential profits. If American workers were unattracted by jobs which lasted only a few weeks or days, there were always braceros, or wetbacks, or "green cards," or somebody else frantic enough to accept anything.

If growers are obliged to cultivate a normal working force, there is a great deal they can do to reduce the wild peaks and valleys of labor demand in their industry. They can diversify their crops. They can ask agricultural experiment stations to develop strains of plants which ripen over an extended period of time--a reversal of their present requests for strains which ripen all at once. And they can stagger their plantings over a period of weeks, so harvests will be correspondingly staggered.

One major change growers must make, in order to update their industry, is to make their employment more stable and secure. The second--and all these points are interrelated--is to develop respect for their workers in place of the contempt they show now. Regardless of other conditions, not many people are going to be eager to work for someone who calls them "winos" and "bums." There is a psychological and sociological dimension of the farm labor problem which the experts, even those few who are sympathetic to the workers, have largely ignored. It is going to come back to haunt growers. Ours is a highly materialistic society, but money is not quite everything, yet. Men still have some self-respect, and if they think they enjoy the respect of their employers, they often make economic allowances, as would-be organizers of white collar and retail sales workers ought to have learned by now. On the other hand, where employers have systematically destroyed workers' self-esteem over many years, they are going to have some difficulty overcoming this onus, even if wages rise to the level of the best organized building trades. Almost all of us share to some extent in the amused contempt with which rural workers are regarded in our society, and to that extent all of us are to blame if American citizens are reluctant to work on farms. The chances are you have told, or at least laughed at, jokes in which the butt of the humor was a naive or slow-witted "rube" or "hick." The chances are you have used the expression "cotton-pickin'," as in, "Get your cotton-pickin' hands off the table." Just a harmless folk expression? Think of what it means, for a moment. Ask yourself why no one ever says, "Get your cement-finishing or truck-driving hands off the table." What we are saying, at a covert level, is that there is something a little amusing and a little contemptible about picking cotton. Amused contempt is the way more serious prejudice begins. Growers and all the rest of us are going to have

to get rid of our amused contempt. And, in the meantime, to overcome the stigma we ourselves have created, we are going to have to compensate farm workers--figuratively and literally.

Where brings me to the third basic change growers will have to make in order to attract and retain domestic farm workers. It will have to become possible for a wage earner to support himself and his family in decency. It is not for me to say how much farm wages should be. That is properly the outgrowth of the collective bargaining process between the principals involved. But I can say how much farm wages should not be. They should not be one-third, or less, of the average wages in other industries. They should not be below the level of public assistance. They should not be at levels which demean and degrade workers. In other words, they should not be what they are today.

Agriculture is even more derelict in fringe benefits than in the matter of wages, if that be possible. In other industries, the value of fringe benefits is estimated at somewhat more than 80¢ an hour--more than the average farm worker makes in wages. And there are no fringe benefits at all in agriculture. It will have to join the rest of our economy in this respect.

Underlying all these things I have suggested for the cure of the sickness of the farm labor market, is a call for a basic form of therapy-- a radical form of therapy, if you like, in the sense that it strikes at the roots of the disease. That therapy is organization. Growers will have difficulty, to say the least, doubling and tripling their wage rates unless they organize themselves to obtain a fair return from the canneries and chain stores and other major buyers of their products. They will have difficulty diversifying their crops, and staggering their plantings and harvests, and guaranteeing stable employment, until they organize themselves to cooperate and to stop cutting each other's throats.

None of this is new. Sensible men have known for years that these things would have to be done if agriculture were to take its rightful place in our economic family. But social change does not occur on the basis of good sense or good sentiments. Social change takes place when somebody has enough desire to insist on it, and enough power to overcome the natural inertia of the existing order. It is abundantly clear that the updating of agriculture isn't going to take place through the initiative of agriculture itself.

Where, then, is the thrust going to come from? Some people seem to think we may look to leadership from the administration of the State of California, or from the national administration. They are both Democratic administrations, they call themselves liberal, and they call themselves responsible. But the best that has come from this quarter is a plan by Governor Brown, announced on May 31, which would (1) help growers build more employee housing; (2) recruit students to work in the fields; and (3) spend \$50,000 to study the farm labor problem--once again. Such a program enthusiastically embraces the very mythology which has brought the farm labor market to its present low estate. Brown's program assumes it is the state's obligation to meet the labor needs of agriculture--regardless of how inflated growers' labor demands may be, and regardless of the conditions of employment they offer. Brown's Department of Employment is at this moment trying to

fill so-called "labor shortages" in strawberries by cajoling 12 and 13 year old junior high school children out into the field factories, under a piece rate system which almost certainly averages less than 50¢ an hour.

One is forced to conclude that our self-styled liberal political institutions are as much a part of The Establishment as our agricultural institutions, and no more likely to face up to the radical therapy required--until forced to do so. Now we are getting down near the nub of the problem. Is there a power in our society which could knock the heads of Mr. Brown and Mr. DiGiorgio together, and by so doing help them both see things in a necessary new light.

Maybe there is. Maybe organized labor can rouse itself from its slumber sufficiently to do this task which is so clearly its proper duty. Many of the things I have suggested as essential to the modernization of the farm labor market absolutely require the participation of unions representing farm workers themselves. A hiring hall operated by employers alone, or by some government agency, would be a disaster. Wages and fringe benefits set at acceptable levels can scarcely be conceived without worker organization. The whole set of changes needed in agriculture may be likened to an engine which is nothing but an idea until it has a motive force. The motive force to set this particular engine going down the tracks must logically come from labor.

United Packinghouse Workers of America have a handful of representatives in the fields. The AFL-CIO has had a token organizing committee in the San Joaquin Valley since 1959. A Teamster-ILWU combine is said to have an organizer in the field at the present time. But in view of the magnitude of the job to be done, with 350,000 workers scattered over 90,000 ranches and farms, such efforts by organized labor are hardly to be taken seriously.

Unions have for years complained that the organization of farm workers was virtually impossible so long as the bracero system endured. It looks as though, come January 1, 1964, we will find out if this was merely a convenient alibi. Organized labor will either fish, and fish seriously, or go on cutting bait, in which case everyone will know, once and for all, that labor either lacks the will or the ability to organize the unorganized.

The labor movement is, obviously, the logical force to fight for industrial democracy in our last wholly undemocratic industry. But to do so it will need to become a movement in fact rather than just in name. In very many respects, it has become a social institution rather than a social movement, and as such is part of The Establishment as surely as the Brown and Kennedy administrations, and the DiGiorgio Fruit Corporation. Maybe labor will rise to its present opportunity, with the ending of the bracero system. But maybe it won't. Does that mean there is no hope? Does that mean we must abide an agricultural industry mired in the midst of the 19th Century as the rest of us move on to the 21st? I suggest not.

I suggest there is a court of final appeal in a society such as ours. It may not be used very often any more, but I like to think it still exists. I like to think it consists of the attitudes and opinions and convictions of a great many ordinary, decent, honorable people who have an idea that something isn't right, and that something ought to be done about it. These

aren't the George Meanys and Charles Scullys who make decisions in the name of organized labor--although many of these people may belong to unions. They aren't the Pat Browns--although some of them may belong to Democratic clubs. Many of them may not belong to any organization at all. They are just people who have a feeling for what is just and what is unjust. There is still enough freedom left in our society that these people can do something about their feelings. They can go to the next meeting of their local union and say, "Why don't we do something for our brothers out there in the fields?" They can go to the next meeting of their Democratic club and say, "Let's tell Pat Brown some of the facts of life." They can say to their grocer, "I don't like the idea of your handling merchandise produced by slave labor." When the Council of California Growers claims (as it does) that consumers are unwilling to pay enough to support agricultural workers in decency, we consumers--and all of us are consumers--can say, "You lie."

If union officials don't respond to these feelings, perhaps they can be replaced. If government officials don't respond, perhaps they can be replaced. We have not yet reached the point where we need feel utterly powerless, where things have been taken entirely out of our hands, where there is nothing we can do. If the whole of the social order seems arrayed against freedom and justice for farm workers, then we can challenge the whole of the social order.

I don't suggest the farm labor problem in California and the Southwest is the overriding problem of our age. But I suggest that it is part of several of the overriding problems of our age. It has vital linkages with the world-wide revolution of underdeveloped areas, which is largely an agrarian revolution--a revolution against what I have referred to as the plantation mentality.

Too, the farm labor movement has vital linkages with the civil rights movement. The problems of Southern Negroes and the problems of agricultural workers are both, at bottom, the products of the plantation mentality. It is no coincidence that most farm workers are non-Caucasians, and that most Southern Negroes are farm workers. It is no coincidence that farm lobbyists demanded and received an agricultural exclusion from the Fair Employment Practices Act of California.

You don't have to go to Tallahassee, Florida, to be arrested for registering your devotion to humanity in human relationships. It happens to those who try it in Tracy, California, on behalf of farm workers. You don't have to go to Birmingham, Alabama, to find police dogs used to intimidate people. This was first done in Stockton, California, in August, 1959. The police dogs were used to intimidate farm laborers who were trying to organize.

There are a good many Americans who care about freedom and justice in a real sense, even while their leaders use the terms in a merely ritual or jingoistic sense. Perhaps there are enough to fight for these values, non-violently, in Manteca and Mendota as well as Mississippi. So far in the human pilgrimage, there have been enough such persons to keep us from destroying ourselves, and from destroying the things which make life worth living. I have a faith that farm workers will come into their rightful inheritance of these things, as we move beyond the bracero system.

August 1, 1963

BLOOD ON THE LETTUCE

When a Buddhist monk immolates himself in protest over social injustice, it weighs heavily upon our hearts. But, at least, he had some volition in the matter. It is not as though he were altogether unconsulted. In this respect, the slaughter of the innocents weighs even more heavily upon the heart. On September 15, six children were killed in Birmingham, through no fault of theirs. On September 17, thirty-two farm workers were killed in the Salinas Valley, through no fault of theirs. The innocent children, and the innocent braceros, were human sacrifices. And as long as we continue to practice human sacrifice, we have absolutely no right to feel we have a civilized, enlightened, developed, ethical, or humane society, worthy of respect or emulation from anyone.

Many others have talked of the killing of the Birmingham children. I am going to talk about the sacrifice of the thirty-two braceros, because it is particularly our responsibility here in California, and because its significance has been lost on all our moulders of a mightier public opinion.

Bracero deaths and dismemberment on the highways have been one of the characteristics of the bracero system ever since it was instituted. To mention just a few cases from recent years:

In 1956, seven braceros were killed near Salinas in a collision between a railroad train and the panel truck in which they were being hauled.

In May, 1957, forty-eight braceros were perched on a flat bed truck going around a curve at 40 miles an hour. Two fell off; one was seriously injured, the other was killed.

In September, 1957, a flat bed truck with 41 braceros overturned in a San Joaquin County slough, critically injuring 13 of the men.

In November, 1957, another open truck loaded with braceros turned over. Ten were injured.

On June 17, 1958, twelve braceros burned to death in a farm labor bus accident in the Salinas Valley--a record up to that time.

On June 8, 1959, sixteen braceros were "cremated" when their "crudely fashioned bus" (the words are those of the Associated Press) crashed into a tree and exploded near Phoenix.

Just last month, three braceros were killed in a farm labor bus accident in Tulare County.

And now the Salinas Valley has broken its own previous record when thirty-two braceros were killed while being hauled back to camp from the celery and lettuce fields.

There will be the usual flurry of pious pronouncements and investigations

by the U.S. Department of Labor and the other government agencies supposedly concerned. But I suspect the gestures will be even more perfunctory than usual. It is widely assumed that the bracero program will terminate at the end of this year, and in these last few months--why get too excited? By the time these remarks are broadcast, we will know whether the last desperate effort of bracero-users to get their system extended has succeeded or failed. The death of the thirty-two martyrs of the Salinas Valley may prove to have been the death of the bracero system. If bracero-users had been well advised by their public relations flacks, they would have spent a little less time lobbying in Washington and a little more time back here in California, making sure there were no major scandals in their program while the Congressional vote was pending.

But in my judgment, it does not make a crucial amount of difference whether the bracero law is extended or not. The growers and contractors who have used this type of labor for many years, now have a large investment in trucks and buses, housing and feeding facilities, suitable only for the use of all-male gangs. I do not believe they are going to write off these investments. I do not believe they are ever going to begin thinking in terms of a normal, American style of labor force until they have to. And they aren't going to have to so long as organized labor, government bodies, and the general public are as indifferent as they are now. Given this indifference, there will be just about as many single males in California agriculture next year as this. They will be housed in the same old camps and transported in the same old vehicles. Under these circumstances, it is just a matter of time before another ten, or twenty, or thirty men are slaughtered on the highway. Whether these men are braceros, or "green-carders", or Japanese, or domestics, is altogether beside the point.

"Accidents will happen," some may say--those who are lazy, ignorant, cowardly, or callous. But accidents don't just happen. They are caused, like every other event in the natural universe. They are the end product of a number of contributing factors. And when they recur, as they do, they become subject to the same sort of analysis and prediction and control as any other problem of human well-being. The field of public health has a word for this sort of analysis: epidemiology. It is a method which could be just as useful in tracing the origins of bracero catastrophes as it has proved in tracing the cause of lung cancer.

To the extent there has been any concern at all with bracero deaths to date, it has been hopelessly simple-minded. If there is a disaster involving gasoline containers, as there was in 1958, you pass a law about gasoline containers, as the California legislature did in 1959. If there is a disaster involving brake failure, you put more emphasis on inspecting brakes. If there is a disaster involving driver error, you put less emphasis on inspecting brakes and more on screening drivers. But this ad hoc approach can go on forever, with only slight effect on the recurrence of disasters, since there are a great many kinds of mechanical failure, and a great many kinds of human failure, and their combinations and permutations are almost infinite. I differ from most of my colleagues when I say that investigations and regulations are not a real solution. There are plenty of regulations on the books already. It almost seems that as they multiply, so do bracero deaths.

I suggest that what is required is an entirely different kind of epidemiology. It might be called social, or political, or economic epidemiology. I suggest that the real question is not, "Why did that particular driver pull in front of that particular freight train?", but, "What were those 60 men doing in that bus in the first place?" Or, if you prefer a more "objective" question, "Why is the accident rate so much higher for bracero buses than for other types of buses?" I wouldn't be surprised if the death rate per passenger-mile is a hundred times that of other carriers. If you live in Berkeley, you have undoubtedly seen employees of the Radiation Laboratory travelling around in yellow AEC buses. None of them have been immolated. What makes the difference?

I say that we are going to continue having recurrent farm labor disasters just as long as farm laborers are herded around in gangs, fed in gangs, housed in gangs, transported in gangs, like dumb animals rather than sentient human beings. It is not just a matter of the sheer numbers involved. It is more a matter of concern for the importance of that number--or for any number--of human beings.

When the driver of a Greyhound Bus comes to a railroad crossing, even one which has carried no trains for years, he stops and looks both ways. Regulations, of course, say that he must do this. But there is more to it than that. At some level of his subconscious, I think, he has some inkling of his enormous responsibility. He is carrying the most precious cargo in the world: people.

Handlers of farm laborers have no such inkling. Maybe they once had, but it cannot survive the system for long. Every phase of agricultural employment is marked by contempt for workers. They are recruited in brutish shape-ups. They are given no place to urinate or defecate on the job, so they have to relieve themselves in public. They are relegated to third-class citizenship by a long series of discriminatory and probably unconstitutional exclusions from social, economic, and civil rights laws. They are pushed and shoved and hauled hither and yon, always at the pleasure of somebody else. They are viewed as commodities, as objects, as chattels.

I say in all seriousness that the average bracero-holder probably has less respect for his chattels than the average slave-holder had for his a hundred years ago. A slave represented an investment of what would today be several thousand dollars. You can get a bracero from the Department of Labor for \$15. And you can get a "green carder" from the Immigration Service for nothing. With a slave of the old style, you usually showed some responsibility, because he was going to be with you, in season and during the off-season, year in and year out. You rent a bracero for six weeks or six months, and if he gets damaged, you don't care. You'll never see him again. You get next year's model--a newer, younger, healthier one.

In my considered opinion, this is the only meaningful epidemiology of bracero catastrophes: contempt for human beings. And if braceros are replaced by "green carders" or Jamaicans or Japanese or somebody else next year, the catastrophes will continue, because these new workers will be held in contempt, too.

The basic, constant sickness underlying the occasional catastrophes which make the headlines, is lack of respect for farm laborers and farm labor as such. This sickness is not confined to the foremen, camp operators, drivers, and others who push farm workers around directly. We are all infected. It would be difficult to say whether we caught our sick attitude from them or they from us. When you and I, through our elected representatives, write agricultural exclusions into our Fair Employment Practices Act and all the other laws which confer a shred of dignity upon workers, we are wantonly spreading the sickness of contempt for farm labor.

What is to be done? Basically, start having some respect for the human beings who made it possible for you to have that green salad last night, those sliced peaches this morning--the baked potato, onion rings, strawberries, orange juice--all those good things to eat--and don't forget the cotton in the things you wear, and dry yourself on, and sleep under--and there is even the olive in your martini, and the pimento in the middle of the olive. The most useful thing we can do to stop the cremation of live farm workers is for us to recover from the sickness of our contempt for the very people whose labor we should honor more than any other. When we do this, our lengthened shadows in the legislatures will throw off their similar sickness, labor unions will throw off theirs, and the walls of third class citizenship will come tumbling down.

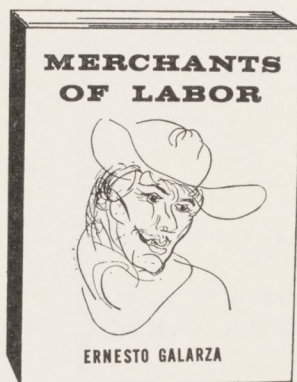
When they are receiving the \$3 or \$4 an hour, and fringe benefits, which are due any skilled working men in our level of economy, agricultural workers will get to their jobs the way workers do in other industries. No one would think of cramming 60 construction workers into a converted truck to haul them to a job site. They drive their own cars. True, some non-agricultural employees are carried in company transportation. Railroad maintenance-of-way workers, for example. You have probably seen the Southern Pacific's panel trucks on the highways. But they are comfortable, as these things go; they are well maintained; and the workers are transported in small groups rather than large gangs. And the drivers care about what they are doing. I have never heard of a highway disaster involving maintenance-of-way workers.

In justice, I think we should have even more respect for the workers who produce our food and clothing than workers who produce other commodities--say, Atlas missiles or Polaris submarines. But I'm not asking for that. I'm just asking for equal respect. Until we have reached that state in our social epidemiology, there will continue to be blood on our lettuce.

Until we recover from our contempt, farm labor "accidents", so called, will continue to be human sacrifices to a sickness of our society, as racial killings are human sacrifices to another, related sickness.

September 22, 1963

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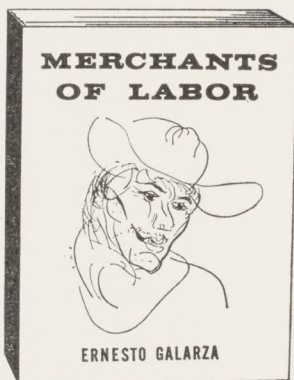
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Miss Goepel has been associated with the Migrant Ministry and with Farm Workers Health Service of the California Department of Public Health. She is working for her Ph.D. in Sociology at Stanford.

PEACHES AND PARATHION

by Wendy Goepel

1. Introduction

On August 25, 1963, banner headlines in the San Francisco Chronicle announced that 7500 peach pickers faced poisoning in the orchards of Stanislaus County, and that 75 pickers had already become ill from exposure to parathion sprays. A few weeks later, another front page headline in the Chronicle proclaimed: Instant Death From The Dust That Kills: The Cost of Ignorance. That story reported several deaths which had resulted from direct exposure to concentrates of parathion.

In Silent Spring, Rachel Carson discusses harm done to wildlife from overuse and misuse of agricultural chemicals, and touches upon certain dangers to those who consume the new farm products. But until the recent newspaper stories, it was not generally recognized that people who work on farms and ranches are in perhaps the greatest danger of all.

The Chronicle stories describe two different types of poisoning which may result from parathion or other sprays and which pose a danger to farm workers. One type of poisoning involves large numbers of workers who are continually exposed to residues of poison on the trees and vines among which they work. In some cases, as in the Stanislaus County "epidemic", workers in the fields become suddenly ill, but the reasons for this are not completely understood by medical authorities. The second type of poisoning is more acute and occurs when an individual drinks, inhales or absorbs large, concentrated doses of the poison. There is no mystery about this type of poisoning. It is clearly understood by doctors. Most of this latter type of poisoning could be avoided by the education of sprayers and others who handle the concentrates and by careful disposal of leftover spray. But the first type of poisoning remains, at this time, a mystery in several respects. And increased reliance on chemical controls in agriculture suggests that these poisoning "epidemics" may become even more common.

2. Recent History

Although parathion poisoning was brought to the public's attention only very recently, the problem has existed for at least fourteen years. Articles have been appearing in technical journals of chemical engineering, entomology, and industrial hygiene since the early 1950's. An article by Quinby and Lemmon in the Journal of the American Medical Association, five years ago, reviewed twelve different "epidemics" of parathion poisoning of farm workers on the Pacific Coast between 1949 and 1958.¹

California seems to have the distinction of the first reported epidemic

¹ Footnotes will be found at the end of the article.

of parathion poisoning among agricultural workers: 25 men were hospitalized on July 8, 1949, after picking pears in a Marysville orchard which had been heavily sprayed with parathion. Quinby and Lemmon, discussing this episode and the eleven others, attempt to isolate the factors which are common to them all. In each case, workers who were thinning, irrigating, or picking trees or vines became suddenly and violently ill as a result of spray residues. Symptoms, including headache, vomiting, nausea, diarrhea, weakness, and mild shock, led to periods of hospitalization from 1 to 3 days. The authors believe that illness occurs because the poison is absorbed through the skin; this is in contrast to the acute individual poisoning where the poison is inhaled or ingested. The authors say that many other cases of parathion poisoning probably occurred between 1949-1958. Doctors probably incorrectly diagnosed some poisonings as heat prostration or food poisoning, and other cases never came to medical attention at all.

Records maintained on poisoning from parathion and other agricultural chemicals in California show that the problem in this state alone is greater than that reported by Quinby and Lemmon for the entire west coast. In California, every illness or death resulting from a "work accident" must be reported, by the doctor involved, to the State Department of Industrial Relations. This agency forwards these reports to the State Health Department. Records of poisonings and deaths of farm workers in California, known to the Health Department, include the following: between 1950 and 1961, 3,040 persons were poisoned by pesticides and other farm chemicals;² 22 workers and 63 children "accidentally" died from this cause.³ Every year in California, there are more cases of chemical-pesticide poisoning reported by the agricultural industry than by all other industries combined. In 1959, there were 409 cases of poisoning from parathion compounds alone.⁴ 287 of these came from the citrus belt where workers were exposed to heavy residues of parathion on the leaves and fruit. Then, this harvest season, a new epidemic among peach pickers made the headlines of the metropolitan press. And this year, for the first time, State Health Department officials began a systematic investigation into the problem. Apparently this is the first such study in the nation.

3. The Problem Today: The Search for Causes

An experienced epidemiologist was assigned responsibility for probing the cause of the poisoning epidemic. Epidemiologists are medical doctors with training in public health and a particular orientation toward solving the mystery of why one group of people seems more susceptible than others to a given disease. Their work can be compared to that of a detective who solves a crime by visiting the scene of the crime, following leads, tracking suspects, and finally assigning blame to some particular event, activity, or person. The epidemiologic method usually consists of examining a series of cases of a given disease and trying to find out what factors are common to all the persons who contracted the disease and are not shared by any who did not contract it. Three types of leads are generally followed: finding the "agent"--germ or virus--and studying its characteristics; seeing what distinguishes the "host"--the persons who get sick--from others who do not; studying the environment in which the "agent" meets the "host". One or another or all three of these leads may be important

to the study.

In the Stanislaus County parathion epidemic, the epidemiologist and a second investigator went to the towns where poisonings were being reported and began investigating the agents, hosts, and environmental conditions associated with the 75 initial cases. When they began their study, there were already several valuable clues. First, there had been no cases of poisoning in the Sutter-Yuba peach bowl where a DDT spray was used, but many cases from the Stanislaus area where parathion was used. Thus, parathion was listed as the probable agent.

Second, there was a fairly simple way of measuring exposure to parathion residues. When a person is repeatedly exposed to parathion, the cholinesterase level in his blood gradually goes down and rises again only very slowly after there is no more exposure to parathion. (Cholinesterase is an enzyme in the blood and nerve cells.) When the cholinesterase level reaches a certain low point, a person becomes ill.

Finally, the task of the epidemiologists was facilitated by the fact there were clusters of cases from several work crews--men who had been working in the same orchards.

The State Health Department investigators worked in orchards and in two camps where a large proportion of the workers had become ill. They systematically investigated variables related to the "agent" (parathion), the "host" (the workers), and the environment in which the workers lived and worked. Space permits only a partial review of their work and findings. First, variations concerned with the spray were studied. Almost all the persons who became ill had been working in one of a dozen orchards. The number of times spray had been applied to those orchards in comparison to other orchards was determined from spraying records. The length of time between last application of spray and beginning of harvest activity was also studied. The Department of Agriculture has recommended to pesticide corporations and growers that in order for the spray to oxidize, two weeks should elapse between the last spraying and the beginning of harvesting. It used to be hypothesized that epidemic poisonings occurred because workers entered orchards before this two week period was over. But findings in the current study suggest that the time lapse is not as important as the absolute amount of spray applied.

Variables in the work environment were then investigated. The season this year had been unusually cool, which led some to believe that the spray had not oxidized as quickly as it had in other years when no illness was recorded. This was contrary to experience of previous years, when cases had occurred in particularly hot weather. It was then conjectured that the workers perspired more from the heat and that more poison was absorbed through the skin as a result. In any event, since the temperature was roughly the same in all Stanislaus County orchards this year, and only a dozen produced poisonings, it was decided that temperature could not explain the illnesses.

The type of crop was examined: there was no single type of peach tree which produced illness to the exclusion of the others, but all the illness was among peach pickers. No epidemics of parathion poisoning have ever been reported among row crop workers. All cases have come in crops where the worker brushes much of his body against vines or leaves, hence "bathing" himself in the poison residues. Specimens of leaves and fruit were taken from trees in different orchards and it was found that the leaves retain more of the spray than the fruit. Samples of air were also analyzed in the laboratories, but produced no important findings.

After that, variation among the workers was examined. The records of local doctors were examined to determine the exact occupation of all those who had become sick. Blood samples from various persons working in orchards were taken. It was found that only those who were actually picking the fruit, and climbing among the foliage over sustained periods, had become ill. Growers, swappers, sorters, tractor drivers and inspectors were not affected, nor were cannery workers.

The clothing worn by workers was suspected as a possible means of transmission. Some thought that if clothing was not changed regularly, the poison residue would accumulate and the person would be more apt to become ill. The two investigators purchased a shirt from a worker (the dirtiest ^{shirt} they could find), wrapped it up and sent it to their laboratory. Analysis showed that the shirt contained about 1 milligram of parathion, a significant amount but probably not enough to make one ill.

Then, certain characteristics of the workers who became ill were tabulated. The age, sex, and ethnic background of workers who were stricken showed a preponderance of 25-50 year old Mexican or Mexican-American men. Blood samples were taken from Mexicans and Anglos living in various labor camps and trailer courts; the sampling included areas where workers had become sick and others where none had become sick. The analysis of blood showed that about 75% of all the Mexicans and about 40% of all the Anglos sampled had cholinesterase levels which were below normal. But this still didn't explain why some members of a particular orchard's work crew had become ill and others with the same characteristics (age, sex, ethnicity) had not. To account for this, the epidemiologists had to probe deeper. They watched workers who had been sick as they worked again in the orchard and they asked contractors, growers and friends of these workers if they were different in any way. They were told that the men who had become sick were the fastest workers. There are two possible explanations. One is that the fastest workers perspire the most and are most likely to absorb poison into their systems. The other is that the fastest workers are in and out of the trees faster; they brush against more leaves and pick more fruit, and have more contact with the poison. The investigators lean toward the latter interpretation.

To summarize, the most significant findings of the current investigation are that the amount of spray applied explains why some orchards produce sickness, and the speed of work explains why only some of the workers in an orchard become sick. But there are some perplexing questions which are not answered by the present study. First, contact with parathion spray leads to a lowering of the cholinesterase level in the blood. But when blood samples were taken from large numbers of pickers, it was found that a large proportion of all the pickers had abnormally low cholinesterase levels, but about half of them hadn't become sick. Doctors had formerly

believed that whenever the cholinesterase level went down to a certain level, persons would almost always become sick. Now it looks as though some people can continue to function even with this condition, while others cannot. When some workers' cholinesterase level went down slightly, they immediately became sick, for others, the level went down ^{very low} before they were affected. It is possible that some workers develop a partial immunity to the poison over time, but almost nothing more is known about individual differences in response.

Another question which is unanswered is how many workers actually became sick. The only way which the Health Department officials could trace sickness was through the reports sent in by doctors whom the sick workers visited. There is no way of knowing how many workers were sick but did not go to the doctor because they did not feel "that sick", or did not know where there was a doctor, or lacked transportation, or thought they would have to pay for treatment. Although all the hired workers were covered by Workmens Compensation, some may not have known this. And there may have been farmers or family workers who are not covered and did not go. Then, too, there is no way of knowing how many doctors may have diagnosed cases of parathion poisoning as food poisoning or heat prostration because they were unfamiliar with the symptoms of parathion poisoning. Still other cases may have been treated but not reported to the Department of Industrial Relations.

A final problem is that once a worker's level of cholinesterase is lowered, it does not begin to climb back to normal for several weeks and does not completely return to normal for several months. During this time, re-exposure to more parathion is doubly dangerous: the worker is more susceptible to slight exposure. Farm workers do not have economic protections against periods of unemployment. Workers who become ill during harvest seasons are anxious to return to work as soon as possible. It is expected that many of those who were hospitalized during the peach "epidemic" will spend their convalescent period picking more fruit. Many of the Stanislaus County workers who were interviewed planned to begin working in citrus in October or November. Since citrus is one of the crops most heavily sprayed with parathion, it is all too likely that a new outcropping of poisoning will soon be reported from the southern counties. The State Health Department team plans to follow one work crew now starting south to see whether their blood levels have yet returned to normal or whether they are in danger of new poisoning sieges from re-exposure to parathion.

4. Prognosis and Prescription

While the goal of the statistician is to record illness and death, and the goal of the epidemiologist is to identify the probable causes of a disease among a particular group of people, neither is obliged to question or comment upon the wisdom or morality of the circumstances and variables they study. Here, we shall shed the robe of scientist, and raise several questions and comments.

Three different groups - the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the University of California Agricultural Extension Service, and the corporations which manufacture pesticides--have carried out extensive research to find

the tolerance levels of insects: that is, what amount of chemical will kill insects but not harm the crop? Why has no one studied problems of human tolerance to sprays? The truism that we know more about the patterns of migratory wildlife than migratory workers is again apt.

One may also ask why there are not adequate regulations which prohibit a grower from applying so much spray that workers' health is threatened. And if the response is that we did not know how the amount of spray applied affected workers' health, the proper question is why is that unknown after 15 years of poisonings? One wonders whether a poisoned worker might sue a grower for negligence and win the case. There is the legal precedent that a grower can sue a pesticide manufacturer if he incurs crop loss after following the directions in applying spray.

One might ask why there need be fears about a new epidemic beginning among workers with lowered resistance levels. Why should the poisoned workers not be compensated at their former wage level during a period of recommended convalescence? Why aren't these cases handled routinely as Workmens Compensation cases and why aren't doctors, insurance companies, employers, and workers alerted to regard them as such? Statistics show that 68% of all workers poisoned by parathion in 1961 returned to work within one week of their seizure or never stopped working even though they were sick.⁶

But most important, one might wonder, in the light of this newest epidemic, whether new rulings and adequate administration of these rulings will be made to protect workers against similar danger in the future. With canneries continually demanding higher and higher quality produce from growers, growers are tempted to use more and more spray to guard against rejection of their crop. Don't agricultural chemical corporations have a duty to begin research into worker as well as insect tolerance? It would be encouraging to see them begin advertising on their billboards up and down the Central Valley: "Kills Bugs; Spares Workers". So far, there are no signs that any of these changes are forthcoming. The consuming public is not threatened in the form of parathion-poisoned produce. The press knows it cannot sell tomorrow's papers with yesterday's headlines. It will be easy to forget what happened. Legislators must be convinced that it is their voting constituents' desire to push for more stringent controls.

The report by Quinby and Lemmon in 1958 stated that "... regulations and recommendations ... probably need review, modification, and improved enforcement if such incidents (i.e., poisonings) are to be prevented ..." and this was written before 287 citrus workers or 90 peach pickers were stricken in California orchards. The Chronicle articles in August and September concluded that "... abandoning the crop is not warranted." Yet on October 12, 1963, the Director of Public Health announced that 4,320,000 cans of tuna would be destroyed because one can had poisoned a consumer. What will it take for the authorities to recognize that legislation and administration regulating crop sprays is warranted, imperative, and long overdue?

Footnotes:

1. G.E. Quinby, and A.B. Lemmon, "Parathion Residues as a Cause of Poisoning in Crop Workers." Journal of the American Medical Association, 166: 740-746 (February 15, 1958).
2. State of California, Department of Industrial Relations. "Doctors' First Report of Work Injury", compilation: 1950-1961.
3. State of California, Department of Agriculture. Annual Reports by the Bureau of Chemistry, compilation: 1951-1961. and, State of California, Department of Public Health: Death Records; Annual Agricultural Chemical Reports, compilation: 1951-1961.
4. State of California, Department of Public Health, Bureau of Occupational Health. Occupational Disease in California Attributed to Pesticides and other Agricultural Chemicals, (1961).
5. Quinby and Lemmon, op. cit.
6. Bureau of Occupational Health, op. cit., p. 25

LATE NEWS

"The pesticide on peach trees in the Central Valley, which threatened the death of thousands of peach pickers in August, was blamed yesterday for its first death. The Tulare County pathologist announced that the death of a 61-year-old farm worker...was without question caused by organic phosphate poisoning. Dr. Donald McGrew...made his announcement after an extensive autopsy and laboratory tests on Wesley William Conner of Pixley. ...Conner was last known to have worked on August 29, on a Stanislaus county peach farm, entered a Visalia hospital on September 4 and died eight days later."

San Francisco Chronicle, Oct. 16, 1963

* * * * *

Rev. Wayne C. (Chris) Hartmire, Director of the California Migrant Ministry for three years, and active in many farm labor organizations, including Citizens for Farm Labor, was appointed by Governor Brown to the State Board of Social Welfare, on October 10.

* * * * *

Dr. Ernesto Galarza, a leader in the farm labor movement for fifteen years, has been appointed by the House of Representatives Committee on Education and Labor to direct a special investigation of the Salinas bracero bus catastrophe. (See "Blood on the Lettuce," elsewhere in this issue.) Congressman Charles Gubser, a Gilroy farmer who has himself used braceros, devoted 9 pages of the Oct. 16 Congressional Record to a personal attack on Galarza, saying he "should not be taken seriously as a credible investigator." On Oct. 17, the California Farm Bureau said, "The recent hiring of Dr. Galarza is like asking the fox to investigate the hen house." On Oct. 21, Congressman Don Edwards, representing the district in which Galarza lives, said on the House floor that Galarza "is one of California's most distinguished citizens" -- distinguished by his efforts "to rescue from poverty and under-privilege this large segment of our laboring population, the farm worker."

* * * * *

El Centro, Sept. 28, 1963: 35 more braceros injured in a bus collision.

* * * * *

Woodland, Oct. 15, 1963: bus loaded with 34 braceros turns over in a ditch.

ANNOTATIONS
by Tom Watts

In each issue of Farm Labor, we plan to include a section on literature which is available to those who wish to read more widely or deeply in the field. Let us have your suggestions as to items we should list, including title, author, a brief description, name and address of publisher, and cost, if any.

- I. One of the most complete stocks of farm labor literature in the country is maintained by

National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor,
112 E. 19th Street,
New York 3, N.Y.

Write to Fay Bennett, Executive Secretary of NACFL, for a price list. Many items are available without charge, or at a very nominal cost.

- II. Useful farm labor bibliographies are available from
Friends Committee on Legislation,
2160 Lake Street,
San Francisco, Calif.

Charles Smith,
American Veterans Committee,
61 San Mateo Road,
Berkeley, Calif.

- III. Reprints of significant materials which are unlikely to be included on the above lists may be obtained directly from the following sources.

1. Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, 805 E. Weber Avenue, Stockton, California. Approximately 35 research papers, issued between July, 1959, and February, 1962, contain much that is still readable and pertinent, although some is rather technical or dated. No charge.

2. Farm Worker Health Services, California Department of Public Health, 2151 Berkeley Way, Berkeley 4, California.

- a. R. Bruce Jessup, M.D. "Health of Migrants." Reprinted from California's Health.
- b. "Health Services and the Migrant." Reprinted from Currents in Public Health.
- c. "Children in Migrant Families." Reprinted from U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

3. Emergency Committee to Aid Farm Workers, 512 S. San Vicente Blvd., Los Angeles 48, California. A Statement of Conscience and a Review of Evidence. 100-page statement presented to Subcommittee on Equipment, Supplies, and Manpower, House of Representatives Committee on Agriculture, hearings on Public Law 78, Washington, D.C., March 29, 1963. No charge, but supplies are limited.

4. California Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Labor and Welfare. California's Farm Labor Problems. In two volumes. A wealth of material from public hearings and staff research, although conclusions give scant comfort to farm workers. Supplies limited, but copies may still be available by writing to Hon. James A. Cobey, State Capitol, Sacramento.

5. Giannini Foundation for Agricultural Economics, University of California, Berkeley 4, Calif. Eric Thor and David Allee, "Stabilizing Temporary Farm Labor Supply and Employment through Year-Around Crews: An Experiment in Tulare County, California." Documents the dwindling work-year for the average farm laborer under present agricultural tendencies. Discusses the AFSC-sponsored farm laborers' cooperative as one answer.

6. Division of Research and Statistics, California Department of Employment, 800 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, Calif. "Weekly Farm Labor Report." Terse resume of where farm work is reported to be, how long it lasts, "most common wage rates," how many foreign contract workers are employed, how many domestics are needed, etc. Estimates are open to serious question, but the series may be useful for some comparative studies. No charge.

7. Same agency. Annual Farm Labor Report. Statistics subject to same limitations as weekly reports. Much supplementary text, explaining the Department of Employment's role in day-haul programs, "annual worker plan", youth recruitment programs, etc.

8. Office of the Governor, State Capitol, Sacramento, Calif. Report and Recommendations of the Agricultural Labor Commission. January 31, 1963; 471 pages. Latest in a fifty-year series of official "studies" of farm labor problems. The governor's commission -- two labor representatives, two grower representatives, and the President of California State Polytechnic College as Chairman -- found "it could not reach agreement on some of the issues" (e.g., collective bargaining rights, state minimum wage, foreign contract labor) but that the report "helps to define the issues."

9. Copies of the following are available from Citizens for Farm Labor, P.O. Box 1173, Berkeley, California.

a. Henry Anderson. Fields of Bondage. Analysis of the bracer system within a perspective of constitutional and basic human rights. May, 1963; 110 pages. \$1.50, plus 6¢ sales tax to California residents. Quantities limited.

b. Henry Anderson. To Build a Union. Discussion of the practical problems of organizing agricultural workers, with suggested strategy and tactics for meeting these problems. Implications for the labor movement as a whole. November, 1961; 68 pages. \$1.00, plus 4¢ sales tax to California residents. Quantities limited.

c. If there is sufficient demand, we will reprint any or all of the articles which appear in this and other issues of Farm Labor.

THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME

We shall build a number of issues of Farm Labor around a central theme which seems of current interest and importance. Some of the "theme issues" to which we look forward are:

1. The relationship between the farm labor movement and the civil rights movement.
2. Public Law 414 (McCarran-Walter Act), and the "green card" system.
3. Health, education, and welfare problems of farm workers in California, and programs underway to deal with these problems.

Specific articles already received, or in preparation, include:

1. Agricultural labor and the 1963 California legislative session.
2. How Crystal City, Texas, elected five Mexican-Americans to the City Council.
3. A new method for estimating numbers of seasonal farm workers in a California county.
4. What California agriculture can learn from Iran: letters by Dr. Bruce Jessup.
5. Attitudes of high school and college students toward agricultural labor and laborers.

As indicated elsewhere in this issue, we shall have a regular "archive" series, which will include little-known writings by Ernesto Galarza, Paul Taylor, John Steinbeck, Carey McWilliams, and others

We shall also have a "profile" series: sketches of individuals and organizations which are making significant contributions to the farm labor movement. On occasion, these will be third-person reports. But to the largest possible extent, they will be in the words of the persons directly involved. We hope to have statements by Cesar Chavez, Chris Hartmire, Emmy Gunterman, Fred Ross, Dolores Huerta, Paul O'Rourke, Bard McAllister, and others.

WHAT ASPECT OF THE AGRICULTURAL LABOR MOVEMENT INTERESTS YOU MOST? LET US KNOW THE TYPES OF ARTICLES YOU WOULD LIKE PREPARED, OR WHICH YOU YOURSELF COULD PREPARE. ALL CONTRIBUTIONS WILL RECEIVE CLOSE AND PROMPT ATTENTION. BOOK REVIEWS AND LETTERS TO THE EDITOR ARE ALSO WELCOME. ADDRESS ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO P.O. BOX 1173, BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA.

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Citizens for Farm Labor
P. O. Box 1173
Berkeley 1, California

I would like to become a member of Citizens for Farm Labor.
Membership fees include a subscription to Farm Labor.
Rates: Individual: \$5; Couple: \$7.50; Organization: \$10.

I would like a subscription to Farm Labor magazine.
Rate: \$3.00 for 12 issues.

I can help CFL by: ☐ Office work ☐ Public speaking
☐ Research ☐ Financial contribution
☐ Writing ☐ Names of Others who are Interested.

Name: _____ Telephone: _____

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Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I am writing you this letter to inform you of the results of the investigation conducted by the Los Angeles Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

I can help you by: providing information concerning the activities of the Los Angeles Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation

Reference is made to your letter of the 10th instant.

Subject: Los Angeles, Cal. Conf. of the Los Angeles Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation

The following information was obtained from the Los Angeles Office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation:

Enclosed for the Bureau are two copies of a letterhead memorandum dated and captioned as above.

Very truly yours,
Special Agent in Charge

M. M. Bullard
2480 Fifth Avenue
Sacramento 18, California

Enclosed for the Bureau are two copies of a letterhead memorandum dated and captioned as above.

Very truly yours,
Special Agent in Charge

Very truly yours,
Special Agent in Charge

Very truly yours,
Special Agent in Charge

Very truly yours,
Special Agent in Charge

Very truly yours,
Special Agent in Charge